

"All the Consent
That's Fit to Manufacture"

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commemorate past and future
liberations

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FREE

RIGHTS ARE WHAT WE MAKE AND WHAT WE TAKE — UNTIL ALL OF US ARE FREE



Men with rifles sit outside the 'People's Party II' headquarters in Houston, Texas in 1970, days before police killed the Party's founder Carl Hampton. The People's Party II would become the Houston Chapter of the Black Panther Party.

Bill Thompson, Houston Post

Juneteenth Celebrates Revolutionary Love

This is a message to all Black people in America, living as we still are, as a colonized people: Juneteenth was always a radical celebration. It is radical that despite the US empire's history of enslavement, genocide and dehumanization, we survive. This survival is ensured by revolutionary acts of love. For hundreds of years, Black folk celebrated Juneteenth with no acknowledgment from the state; our joy was our own. A day off work and closed banks do not legitimate the radical spirit of this day. The joy that we express on Juneteenth is that of the slave, un-slaved. And within that joy, of the colonized person taking some freedom, we find Revolutionary Love for each other and all other colonized peoples.

On Juneteenth, Black Southerners, particularly Texans, honor and celebrate our struggle. Despite evidence that Black revolutionary struggle was essential to emancipation, historical revisionists claim that these formerly enslaved people were passive and ignorant of their freedom. As W.E.B. Du Bois theorized, the Civil War would not have ended without the mass acts of plantation sabotage, desertion and armed struggle carried out by the enslaved Black masses. Both Union and Confederate documents describe the actions of enslaved people in the terms of "revolt" and "rebellion." Black Africans have always taken revolutionary action, from the New York Rebellion of 1712 to Nat Turner's Rebellion in 1831 and the mass revolts of the Civil War.

Revolutionary Love is revolutionary action. It is the will to survive, as a people, by any means necessary. It is action towards collective survival, and action to make and celebrate more life! Colonizers not only take lives, but also control and manage daily life — in the heart of the em-

pire, Black Americans are constantly surveilled. Therefore, to make more life is to collectively resist the structures that strive to reduce our lives to property and capital. We reject any shameful attempts at domination; we will have only more freedom, more joy, more life.

When we understand Juneteenth as an expression of Revolutionary Love, and when we understand that Revolutionary Love means struggling to secure the liberation of oppressed peoples, we also understand that on Juneteenth we are called to solidarity with the Palestinian people. As colonized peoples, Palestinians and Black people endure the same injustices and seek the same freedom from state-organized abandonment, incarceration, land theft, environmental racism and displacement from their homes.

"Revolutionary Love is an active mode of struggle. It is not co-existence, nor is it an invocation of peace."

Revolutionary Love is an active mode of struggle. It is not co-existence, nor is it an invocation of peace. As Malcolm X said, "You don't have a revolution in which you love your enemy. And you don't have a revolution in which you are begging the system of exploitation to integrate you into it. Revolutions

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Lama Jamous' Reporting Defends the Future of Gaza

Foreword

Black and Palestinian freedom are at the heart of the world's liberation movements. No vision of liberation will be complete without them.

Afro-Palestinians' history stretches back centuries and is inextricably intertwined with that of their neighbors. Many today can trace their roots to family members brought over by the British during the late Ottoman and Mandatory periods. Regardless of their origin, or the racial categories imported by British colonization, by 1948 they had become a part of Palestinian society and experienced the Nakba as Palestinians, fighting for their land alongside their Arab compatriots. Indeed, the first woman jailed by Israeli forces was Fatima Bernawi, a Palestinian of Nigerian descent. And like their neighbors, Afro-Palestinians were expelled from their homes by the Zionist forces as well.

This is the case for the grandparents of 9-year old journalist Lama Abu Jamous, who's become internationally known for her reporting on the ongoing genocide in Gaza. After being brought over during the Ottoman empire, her grandfather settled in the Naqab. He was displaced to Khan Yunis during the Nakba. Like many Palestinians, her family still has the paperwork showing their claim to her grandfather's home, a fact she's highlighted in her Instagram videos, viewed by hundreds of thousands.

Lama began reporting on the conditions of her people in order to "bring the voice of Palestinian children to the world." She proudly sports a press vest and helmet, interviewing adults and children alike. Despite her age, she speaks with a steadfastness that can only be described as sacred strength.

While herself facing displacement, bombardment and the struggle to eat or drink, she became a witness to the martyrdom of Gaza's youth. Her question, asked repeatedly in her reporting, is a condemnation: "what is the fault of these children?"

The struggle for freedom is a universal one. Black freedom fighters in the US have continually assured us there is no liberation without the freedom of Palestinians. There is likewise no freedom in a world where children must report on their own destruction. When asked about her experience in Gaza as an Afro-Palestinian, Lama echoes this: "we are all Palestinians." Under Israeli occupation, the biggest threat is not racial disparity but rather the indiscriminate bombing her and the millions of Gazans are facing.

The Israeli army has been known to target journalists in order to silence the truth about their heinous crimes. To date, it has murdered at least 108 journalists in Gaza. Lama and her father have now been evacuated to Egypt for her safety. We spoke with her about Palestine and her dreams for the future.

This interview took place on May, 22, 2024.

What was your life before October 7th?

We were very happy with our life, but since the war our life have completely changed. We're not going to school to learn, we're not studying, nothing. We now live in destruction, in a bad situation, in tents, with diseases spreading. This is a really bad situation. We deserve to have independence like all the other countries.

Long ago, our ancestors were living in peace and calm. Then the wars started, destruction, children were getting killed by the second, there was bombing and many massacres. In one of the massacres, 60 people or more were martyred together. This is unfair to our kids, who are getting unjustly killed. What's their fault? They just want to go to school and live happily. A lot of the kids were martyred. Journalists too, who were just trying to share their message and show what's happening in Gaza.

What has been your experience as an Afro-Palestinian?

Our roots and ancestry go back to Ottoman times. We don't distinguish between races in Palestine much. Our family has lived in places like Tul Jama, Shusha, Tul el Habari, Noran and other areas in Naqab. Our family came to Gaza during the Nakba in 1948. We don't really experience a difference being Black because we are all Palestinians.

Did you always want to be a journalist or did you turn to it after October 7th? How does it feel having to become a journalist at 9 years old to speak for your people?

We have to take up this responsibility and demand our rights. We want all kids to share the truth about what's happening in Gaza and Palestine. Of course, it feels great to do this duty, but it is an obligation on everyone.



A drawing of Lama by Ahmed Abunada, an artist in Gaza (2024).

If it had not been for Israel's occupation and genocide, how would you want to use your talents as an artist and storyteller?

I would portray Gaza's beauty, news of happenings around Palestine, and our kids being happy and joyous.

What do you want the world to understand about yourself and the people of Palestine?

I want the world to know that we have no fault in this. We are innocent civilian children sitting at home. I want them to know this. I want our kids to learn and get educated. We want the world to see the beauty of Gaza. I want them to know that Lama is a big journalist and Inshallah when I grow up I want to become a big journalist sharing the truth and showcasing the beauty of Gaza.

How do you feel seeing the people in solidarity with Palestine?

I'm very happy to see people organizing these protests and showing up. I thank all of the countries that

are supporting us in fighting for a free Palestine. I want to say to the whole world: you must stand with the Palestinian nation, and to know that Gaza is extremely beautiful but is facing massive destruction. I call on people to keep protesting to make this war against us stop.

I get excited that they are standing with Gaza, but we need them to increase the pressure so that the war ends.

What is your message to the kids of the world?

We thank the people and students in American universities for their protests for Gaza and all the countries standing with us. My message to other kids is talk about what's happening in Gaza and become journalists! Share our story. We thank you all for the protests and everything you're doing. I want Palestine to be an independent nation.

Anything you want to leave us with?

This is a poem written by my friend recently and I'd like to share it with you.

Enough killing
Enough destruction

Enough murder of children
We call out,

As loud as we can
"Stop the War!"

"Stop the Destruction!"
We want to live free

We want to live in safety
The world has witnessed your
injustice

The world has witnessed our child
heroes
They defied your injustice

They defied your silence
They rose from the rubble

Ragab's daughter called out
As far as her voice could carry

But evil slew her
A mother slaughtered before her
eyes

Nary a protector in sight
We are the seed of heroism

We are the generation of victory
We will not forsake our right

Our homes will return
We will build them and in them live

We will defeat evil
Palestine will return

The land of olives of pomegranates
The land of the Aqsa

Palestine the lodestone of the free
We beseech them

"Be history Yassir's kin"
History tells us

"I travel in a circle"

بكتي قتل،
بكتي دمار،
بكتي قتل الأطفال.

نادي
بأعلى صوتنا،
«أوقفوا الحرب والدمار»
أحنا أبناء الطفولة،
بدنا نعيش بحرية وأمان.

العالم شاف ظلمكم،
وشاف أطفالنا الأبطال.

تحلوا ظلمكم وصمتكم
وخرجوا من تحت الركام.

بنت رجب ناديت بأعلى صوتها،
لكن قتلوها الأشرار
فشافت أم تنذبح،
هياتنا سبتار.

نحن أبناء البطولة،
نحن جيل الانتصار.
ولن ننسى حقنا،
وتعود إلنا الديار
سنعمرها ونبنينا
ونهمز الأشرار.

فلسطين ستعود لنا،
بلد الزيتون والرمان،
والأقصى عروس عروبنا،
و فلسطين قبله الأحرار.

نقول لهم،
«صبرا آل ياسر»
والتاريخ دوار.

“We Inevitably Keep Finding Each Other”

An Interview with Black4Palestine Organizer Khury Petersen-Smith

Khury Petersen-Smith is an organizer with Black4Palestine, an inter-generational activist network founded a year after the Ferguson uprising and the 2014 “Israeli” onslaught on Gaza. Petersen-Smith researches US empire, borders and migration, and in 2009 visited Gaza in an emergency caravan delivering medical supplies. We spoke to Petersen-Smith about solidarity, anti-colonial violence and co-optation of our movements. This interview has been edited and condensed for clarity and length.

Both 2020 and 2023 are examples of movements which thrust their demands onto the world stage via a radical refusal of liberal civility. What do you think both of these examples may teach us regarding the need to — in the words of Basil Al-Araj — exit the law as a means of entering the revolution?

One challenge each struggle faces is their demonization by the US and Israeli states. They criminalize all Palestinian protest — including carrying the Palestinian flag and writing poetry. Frankly, they cast the very existence of Palestinian people as essentially violent. This is part of the pretext for genocidal, colonial violence and ethnic cleansing.

There is a version of this that the Black struggle gets in the US. Any Black protest that is remotely disruptive is labeled as “violent,” and simply existing in Black community is criminalized. When Black people gathered to mourn in response to the police murder of Mike Brown in Ferguson in 2014, their gathering was considered a threat and local and state police were mobilized, as well as the National Guard.

In the face of this demonization, Black activists and intellectuals re-framed the conversation to call attention to centuries of violence of institutional racism. I see convergences there.

In Gaza, we saw the explicitly nonviolent Great March of Return in 2018 and 2019, where tens of thousands marched to the colonial border. Occupation forces responded with bullets, killing hundreds and wounding thousands. BDS is also a non-violent, Palestinian strategy that faces violent repression. This is all part of the context that preceded the events of last October — which is intentionally obscured in the mainstream conversation. Palestinians have been calling attention to incredible violence for years, but their calls have been ignored in the US.

As an activist located in the country supplying the weapons and cover for genocide, I focus on my role



A protester flips off the cops during the Ferguson uprisings in 2014, the events of which still echo in the movement for a Free Palestine.

which is to do everything I can to help stop US-sanctioned Israeli violence. The point is to make as much space as possible for Palestinians to fight for their own liberation.

During the Ferguson uprising, internationalism and the Movement for Black Lives came together and, in some ways, reconstituted their relationship. Can you talk about the confluence of those struggles, especially over the past eight months?

Anti-Black racism is so central to the American project and to the Israeli project, both of which are pillars of the international order. There are these commonalities between the oppressions that we experience as Black folks in the US and that Palestinians experience in Palestine and elsewhere, such that we inevitably keep finding each other. The 2014 moment — when the Ferguson uprising erupted at the same time as the bombardment of Gaza — opened up a new chapter.

There's something really powerful and electric about Black-Palestinian Solidarity. Coming into solidarity with the Palestinian struggle was critical to my radicalization and po-

liticization. This kind of solidarity is very intentional; it requires a political choice and orientation.

Some of the most prominent Black folks in the US have used their position to call attention to Palestine and didn't back down when they got heat for it. In 2018, Angela Davis was set to receive a lifetime achievement award in Birmingham. It got rescinded at the last minute because of her solidarity with Palestine but, ultimately [in 2019], the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute apologized to her. Davis is honored and once again, there's an opportunity to promote solidarity with Palestine and in particular, the Black-Palestine connection.

What we're experiencing now is the greatest outpouring of solidarity with Palestine in US history. It feels really organic given the starkness of [Israel's] genocidal violence.

But the self-evidence of the need to resist can obscure how many years of work went into laying the foundation for a critical mass of people to know the history and conditions of the Palestinian people. That work continues to be led by Palestinians and Black activists like Davis and Cornel West who have taken it upon themselves to talk about Palestine.

That foundation helped make the 2014 moment what it was. There was already a basis for that kind of solidarity. There were Palestinians on the ground in Ferguson and in Palestine who were keyed into what was happening.

The largest wave of resistance in this country before the current Palestinian solidarity movement was the 2020 Black-led uprisings and I don't think that's coincidental. The students who are in college organizing these encampments were in high school when we forced a conversation in this country about the systemic roots of anti-Blackness.

When AOC went to the Columbia encampment, Columbia SJP immediately put out a statement saying “we are not going to be co-opted.” They didn't call her out by name, but everyone knew they were talking about her. Do you think that part of resisting co-optation is rejecting any kind of state intervention until our demands are met?

That's a question that any struggle has to answer. How do we engage with power on our terms? Not with the illusion that the US is a democ-

racy, but from a tactical position, to advance movement goals.

Despite all of the efforts, by the media, by the Columbia administration, by professors writing op-eds, despite all of that, what was the response to the encampment? The response was well over 100 other encampments that captured the attention of this country and many people around the world. And what did they do with that moment? They occupied a building and called it Hind's Hall, to call attention to the most vulnerable people in Gaza. That demonstrates an incredible amount of power. In that context, when a member of Congress shows up, the movement is in a powerful position and I wonder what possibilities this affords it.

I think the Michigan uncommitted campaign was quite clever, tactically. We've never been in a position to run a campaign like that and we should explore what's possible. The more we explore tactics, the limits of our power within those structures will be revealed. Right?

In 1964, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which was using the electoral system as a tactic to advance the Black Power struggle, showed up at the Democratic Con-

vention and were not seated as delegates — even though they were the legitimate delegates from Mississippi. The lack of democracy was revealed as they took that tactic as far as it could go.

The United States was a white supremacist project from the start. There is a question: is it possible for people who are not white to find a location in that project, or even become administrators of it? There is this lauding of the entry of Black people into positions ranging from the cop on the beat, to the mayor of New York City, to the White House — these hires are lauded as evidence of American democracy. That “progress” has not translated into material improvements for the Black community. Actually, there's a real crisis in Black politics.

Colonizers impose limits on how you're allowed to resist your own subjugation. In 2020 the debate over what constituted acceptable tactics arguably caused a schism in the movement. There were appeals to the state, people chanting “peaceful protest” as they were tear gassed. A similar narrative is imposed on Palestinians. Mohammed el-Kurd writes about this, that Palestinians send children to speak at Congress because they're considered the “perfect victims.” Do you have any reflections on these divisions from 2020? What can the two struggles learn from each other?

A struggle is “legitimate” when it uses tactics that are acceptable to the powers that be, and when it falls outside those parameters, all of a sudden the struggle becomes illegitimate. We've heard this over the past decade of Black Lives Matter struggle: “I would support BLM but they blocked off traffic.”

One reason people chanted “peaceful protest” was to contrast the peacefulness of the protests with the violence of the police. It was an appeal to a discourse that tried to paint the protests as violent. But it was an appeal that did not actually stop the state's violence. One result was a loss of credibility for the power of the police.

Before October and the mass outpouring of protest here for Gaza, it was very difficult for people in this country to imagine politics outside of the official channels. The questions have been: what is the legislation we're supporting? Who is the candidate we're supporting?

What's missing from U.S. politics is the question of popular power. The challenge is to create and demand space to cultivate a really expansive and liberatory politics and build up from that fertile soil. It's only possible once we recognize the limits of official politics and its constraints on our liberation.

Revolutionary Love

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overturn systems. Revolutions destroy systems.”

Revolutionary Love destroys the systems which exist to oppress us. Black people may be un-slaved, but we must still survive the destruction of our homes, health and lives via incarceration, gentrification and neglect. For example, in the majority-Black city of Flint, Michigan, the water has not been safe to drink since 2014. The people of Flint have not given up; they are still fighting for clean water and improved infrastructure. We find this same spirit in all of our histories of resistance. It is the true spirit of Juneteenth — one that celebrates our resilience, our survival and our ongoing struggle towards freedom. We refuse the empire's efforts to satisfy its victims with hollow symbolic gestures and Black faces in high places.

Who loves New York more than those fighting to close Rikers Island, and those who will stop Eric Adams's Cop City in Queens?

Our histories of resistance include the Black Panthers, whose community defense programs, including copwatching, fostered a militant stance against the police. Their People's Free Medical Clinics and breakfast programs supported community members, just as The Young Lords, also motivated by love, revolutionized drug detox treatment through acupuncture and other holistic methods. From Fred Hampton and his Rainbow Coalition, we learn the urgent need to forge solidarities with other groups and foreground the role of racial capitalism in our oppression. Our power grows when we build militant coalitions with other colonized and oppressed peoples.

We can also turn to the long rebellion of the prisoners of Attica, theorized by Orisanmi Burton as prisoners of a colonial war. The 1970s prison riots in New York asserted prisoner autonomy and rejected their dehumanization by the state, enacted

through assault, sexual abuse and deprivation. To riot inside the prison, despite the likelihood of punishment and death, is an act of Revolutionary Love. As Da'Shaun L. Harrison says, “Revolutionary Love becomes the force through which I understand death to be an essential and vital part of revolution.”

In the twentieth year of his imprisonment by the Zionist entity, the martyr Walid Daqqa wrote of Revolutionary Love in a letter to a man he called his brother. “I confess that I am still a person holding on to love as if it were embers,” Daqqa wrote. “I will remain steadfast in this love. I will continue to love you, for love is my humble and only victory over my jailer.”

On Juneteenth, we must celebrate every victory over every jailer, from Atlanta to Gaza. When uprisers burned Minneapolis's 3rd Precinct, this was an act of love. Who loves Atlanta more than the saboteurs and radical actionists who fight environmental destruction and the expansion of the murderous police state in the form of Cop City? Who loves New York more than those fighting to close Rikers Island, and those who will stop Eric Adams's Cop City in Queens? When the Palestinian resistance in Gaza wages a guerilla war for liberation against the US-funded Israeli Occupation Forces, this too is an act of Revolutionary Love. Every cop car burnt, every weapons manufacturing facility smashed, every rock and rocket launched: these are all brave acts of love for each other and our future. We must never condemn them.

“The transformative powers of Revolutionary Love — rooted in supranational politics, not in the quid pro quo politics that consistently fail to meet the needs of vulnerable masses — can develop on community-focused training grounds — even within an imperial racial order,” writes Joy James in her 2022 book *In Pursuit of Revolutionary Love*. Our urgent task is to find and create these “training grounds.” We seek them in the street, on the campus, in the workplace and on your block. We create them through communalism and mutual aid. We create them by studying and struggling, by rallying and rioting together. As James says, we have to practice being free.

This Juneteenth, we celebrate — wildly and with all love — the coming revolutions, a liberated Black people, and a free Palestine.

Reaching for the Land

Two Entangled Struggles Share Common Ground

Juneteenth was founded on a promise: that the newly emancipated would live full, self-determined lives as human beings in the wake of slavery. That they would manage to do so while living alongside those who had enslaved them. Instead, the project of Black civic participation was for decades violently quelled by vigilante violence backed by police and local governments.

In Texas, lynchings and other violence documented during the Reconstruction era span more than 45 counties and include a deadly massacre in the Brazos County community of Millican in 1868. That July, after a local Black preacher began organizing Millican's Black community to defend itself against the growing threat of Klan violence, Klansmen fired on a group of Black people investigating a rumored lynching. Over the next two days, hundreds of white men from neighboring towns terrorized the local Black community and dozens more Black victims were killed. Scholars today estimate 150 Black people were killed but the exact death toll remains unknown. White supremacists made democratic participation impossible for Black Americans following emancipation.

These white supremacist groups functioned as deputies of the state, providing extralegal enforcement of the white supremacist social order. They made democratic participation impossible for Black Americans following emancipation.

This is the same strategy deployed today by IDF-backed settlers as they violently annex more Palestinian land upon which to construct their frontier fantasies. Today, in the West Bank, we see a spike in Israeli settler violence that is eerily reminiscent of the lynch mobs of the American South. In April 2024, hundreds of Israeli settlers went on a deadly rampage launching violent raids on Palestinian villages of al-Mughayyir, Duma, Deir Diwan, Beitin and Aqraba. With the protection of the IOF, settlers set fire to homes, trees and vehicles, and killed at least four Palestinians, including a 17-year-old boy, Omar Hamed, near Ramallah, and two men shot dead near Nabliis — Abdulrahman Bani Fadel and Mohammed Bani Jami.

If the Nakba is the ongoing process by which Palestine is violently occupied and its people continually



An Afro-Palestinian woman in her garden in Jerusalem. Photo by Andrew Courtney.

dispossessed, the wake that trails the transatlantic slave ship is the ongoing, fluid process of immiseration that animates the afterlife of slavery. When assessing the failures of Reconstruction, histories that privilege the story of voter's rights over the story of land redistribution may miss the material fact that for Black Americans, Juneteenth cannot be separated from our collective relationship to the land.

The land was then and is now the basis for self-determination. Still, Black Americans' relationship to the land is not one of an indigenous people. The indigenous societies and tribes of Turtle Island were exterminated and expelled from their lands and kidnapped African slaves were brutally forced to work those same lands. The struggle against the slavery (and its afterlives) and the struggle against settler-colonialism form the twin pillars of the fight to abolish American racial capitalism. Indigenous and Black movements have historically learned from and collaborated with each other, with a shared understanding of the critical function of land, both as a return for indigenous nations and a justified reparation for formerly enslaved

Black Americans. For Palestinians displaced within their own lands and those in the global diaspora, the right to return — often symbolized with a skeleton key — is similarly at the root of a political vision of repair.

Shortly after emancipation, General Sherman issued Special Field Order Number 15, granting newly freed Black American families living in the coastal areas of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida 400,000 acres of property confiscated from Confederate landowners, parceled out in 40-acre plots. Less than a year later, President Johnson reversed the order and returned the land to the plantation owners. This state-sanctioned theft of land was the basis for ongoing peonage in the sharecropping era and the foundation upon which Jim Crow was erected.

It was Fanny Lou Hamer, daughter of Mississippi sharecroppers, among the most militant and indefatigable of our ancestors, who made these connections material. Hamer founded Freedom Farm Cooperative in 1967 after being fired from her sharecropping job for registering to vote. A community-based rural and economic development project, FFC

would grow to over 600 acres, offering a means for local sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and domestic workers to pursue community wellness, self-reliance, and importantly, political resistance.

Life on the cooperative farm presented an alternative to the second wave of northern migration by African Americans — an opportunity to stay in the South, live off the land and create a healthy community based upon building an alternative food system as a cooperative and collective effort. Hamer worked closely with Black people who were formerly sharecroppers and were being kicked off their land for registering to vote. The FFC model was later adopted by the Black Panthers and other food justice movements.

History has deemed Reconstruction a resounding failure. While the question of reparations looms perpetually in this nation's guilty conscience, Juneteenth is an unfinished project. Striving towards self-determination means reaching for what the land has to offer us. We understand that our unfinished struggle to self-determine as Black Americans is contiguous with the movement to free Palestine and return its lands to the people.

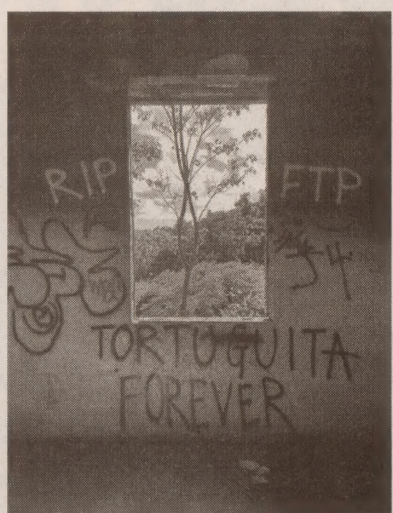
Black Atlanta Organizers Announce Summer of Resistance

For over three years, the movement to Stop Cop City (SCC) has fought the destruction of hundreds of acres of the Weelaunee Forest in Atlanta and the construction of an "urban warfare" police training center known as Cop City. There are clear connections between the investment that Atlanta's ruling class has made into Cop City, the militarization of Georgia's police force, the ongoing subjugation of Palestinian people, the criminalization of dissent and ecocide.

The Georgia International Law Enforcement Exchange (GILEE) is a police training exchange program based in Georgia State University that allows Georgia's law enforcement officers to train with foreign governments like the Israeli Occupation Forces (IOF). GILEE proudly trains officers to engage in militarized "counter-terrorism" and "urban policing" tactics practiced on Palestinian people. These tactics are brought home to Georgia where Black residents face the brunt of police violence.

Georgia's politicians, universities and police have a history of repressing protests that connect the Stop Cop City movement to the struggle for Palestinian liberation. Weelaunee's Forest Defenders faced deadly police violence before they were charged with domestic terrorism, racketeering and conspiracy. When students from across Atlanta gathered at Emory University's liberated zone for Palestine, the same police that murdered a Weelaunee Forest Defender, Manuel "Tortugueta" Paez Terán, showed up to brutalize pro-Palestine students.

Georgia's legislature recently passed legislation to approve the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's (IHRA) Zionist and overly broad definition of anti-Semitism into its hate crime statute. This legislation serves to broaden Georgia's war on Palestinian solidarity specifically and social movements in general. Meanwhile, SCC continues to face down multi-agency police raids including the FBI, anti-democratic efforts blocking the Cop City Vote referendum and the sustained escalation of police ha-



Graffiti memorializing Tortugueta, a Stop Cop City comrade who was slain by Atlanta police in 2023.

arrassment and surveillance of those living near the construction site. Resilient and steadfast, the people of Atlanta will not be deterred in their resistance against police violence and state-sanctioned repression.

On May 20th, a coalition of Black Atlanta organizers from Stop Cop City, Strike Black, Save Weelaunee, and their allies have announced a Summer of Resistance campaign. The Summer of Resistance will launch on Juneteenth with a community-building gathering and close with a fall festival Labor Day weekend. Events will include a series of rallies, demonstrations, teach-ins, a three-day music festival and a convergence hosted by Mainline. Through these events, organizers and community members hope to build a city-wide movement that stokes the fires of resistance well after the campaign's closing.

While the fight to Stop Cop City endures, organizers say it's time to bring all intersections of Southern struggle and resistance together to fight against elements that preceded Cop City and allow police militarization to continue.

"The movement to Stop Cop City is part of the ongoing story of Black and indigenous resistance and fight for liberation," says one Atlanta organizer. "Our fight is for a reimagined world: a world where Rayshard Brooks and Tortugueta would be alive, a world where police budgets would dry up instead of our rivers."

Organizers call on autonomous organizers in their communities to submit their own events under the Summer of Resistance banner. Whether it's to promote a free Palestine, housing justice, climate justice, reproductive and gender justice, land back, or mutual aid; the Summer of Resistance is a movement for people in Atlanta to fight back against escalating state repression and strengthen inter-community relationships.

"Our struggles are deeply interconnected to the global movement for freedom. We are witnessing the same imperial forces inflict violence and displacement in Palestine, Sudan and the Congo," the SCC coalition says. "Summer of Resistance is a call to action and an invitation — to joyfully and courageously reclaim our communities and a world worthy of us all."

This call to action from Atlanta arrives on the heels of an announcement from New York City — a 225 million dollar "Public Safety Academy facility" project slated to start construction in Queens in 2026. As the Stop Cop City movement grows nationwide, solidarity and mutual support must continue to be the backbone of our organizing efforts. There is so much to learn from those on the frontlines of Atlanta's fight against fascism and ecocide. Together, our movements are stronger and our liberation is near. From Palestine to Weelaunee, this summer will be a turning point in our collective struggle — take action, build community wherever you are, join the Summer of Resistance!

For updates and event announcements throughout the summer, follow Strike Black (@strikeblack_scc), Save Weelaunee (@saveweelaunee), and Mainline (@mainline_atl).

History speaks

Revisiting the Archive of Black and Palestinian Solidarity

Wayne State student newspaper The South End, May 15, 1969

This article was first published in Wayne State University's student newspaper The South End on May 15, 1969 in a special edition devoted to Palestine. The paper's editor-in-chief, John Watson, was a member of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and transformed the publication into a mouthpiece for the LRBW's synthesis of radical trade unionism, Black Power and internationalism. Under Watson's tenure, The South End linked the struggles of Detroit's Black working class with the anticolonial movements of the time. It became a proponent of the Palestinian revolution and an important place of exchange between Detroit's Black and Arab populations. The paper's vocal anti-Zionism attracted the ire of Detroit's ruling class, which made several attempts to remove Watson from his position.

This article's author, then 19-year-old student Nabeel Abraham, is a Palestinian-American anthropologist and activist, and co-editor of Arab Detroit (Wayne State UP, 2000). He was a columnist for Lies of our Times (1990–94), a monthly magazine that served as a watchdog of The New York Times, where he often analyzed the Times' biased coverage of Palestine.

In an effort to link the Palestinian Liberation Movement, Al-Fatah, with other liberation movements throughout the world, we (the oppressed) wish to clarify certain misconceptions concerning Al-Fatah.

Al-Fatah is the people's liberation struggle against Zionism and the STATE of Israel. This armed struggle is not unique, but on the contrary, has many counterparts throughout the world—in Vietnam, South Africa, Angola, Bolivia and elsewhere.

Addressing the IUS (International [sic] Union of Students) Executive Committee Meeting in Berlin, German Democratic Republic, on March 20–26, 1968 the Angolan Delegate, Carlos Belle [Carlos Belli-Bello], spoke on the Palestinian struggle. "The students of Angola, whom I have the honor to represent here, who together with their people have suffered every kind of brutality at the hands of a genocidal Portuguese, colonialist regime, and who are vigorously striking back and advancing their own country's armed struggle, fully sympathize with and identify themselves with their student colleagues now working and fighting inside Palestine. Today we two occupied, plundered, oppressed and struggling peoples have much in common."

Mr. Belle continues further: "We the Angolan and other freedom-fighters of Africa, salute the spirit of deep-felt patriotism, self-sacrifice and courage being displayed by the entire Palestinian people at this time."

Concerning another article related to Al-Fatah and its war of liberation, Said Salim Abdullah of Tanzania writes, "The people of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and the whole world support your just struggle. I am convinced that the Palestinian people's armed struggle,

relying on its own basis, the Palestinian masses, will win."

The revealing words of yet another comrade, Ahmed G. Ibrahim of South Africa, parallels the South African racist government with that of Israel's.

"After my visit to the Arab countries I was able to understand that our struggles were common and our enemies common as well. I could now understand why Vorster, the South African fascist Premier, himself interned for pro-Nazi activities during the Second World War, permitted the transfer of over \$30 million from the Jewish community in South Africa to Israel. The racists in South Africa and the Zionists in occupied Palestine are agents of the same master — U.S.-led Imperialism."

The Palestine Liberation Movement has managed to scintillate in the eyes of oppressed people throughout the world. On the other hand, Israel has also displayed her colors. Israel supported the French in Algeria, presently supports the puppet regime of South Vietnam and continues a close relationship with her sister country South Africa.

Al-Fatah recognizes and identifies with all liberation movements throughout the world. With all the Revolutions blooming throughout the world, Fatah has a sweet smell of success.

Power to the people!

Revolution to the end!

No Justice? No Pacification!

On June 17th, 2021, President Joe Biden signed a bill establishing Juneteenth National Independence Day as a federal holiday. On Capitol Hill, lawmakers of every stripe, led by Nancy Pelosi, celebrated the legislation by singing "Lift Every Voice and Sing" in ghoulisish unison. The new holiday officially grants workers a day of relief from capitalist exploitation, but, ironically, such a privilege does not benefit much of the (largely racialized) working poor and underemployed.

The legislation — signed into law a year after the 2020 uprising, amidst urban rebellions sparked by the police assassination of Winston Boogie Smith in Minneapolis — must be understood as an effort to pacify the Black population with symbolic gestures, while erasing the historical role of Black slaves in their own emancipation. This erasure has persisted for centuries through the ridiculous myth that Black slaves in Texas were unaware of their emancipation prior to June 19, 1865. (The Civil War had ended two months earlier.) How could they be ignorant of the history that they themselves had made? This revisionism hinges on the anti-Black falsity that slaves were ignorant, docile, and incapable of being participants in their own liberation struggle. It positions them outside of historical agency while implying that white abolitionists and allies did the hard work for them.

In his magnum opus, *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880*, W.E.B. Du Bois challenged the dominant understanding of the Civil War, identifying Black slaves as the primary historical agents in the struggle against slavery and locating them in the lineage of successful slave revolts like the Haitian Revolution. He positioned the Black struggle against slavery as among the first successful worker's revolutions (predating the Bolshevik revolution) and argued that the general strike, the mass escapes from plantations, and widespread defection to the Union Army ultimately forced Lincoln to formally abolish plantation slavery.

Instead of using Juneteenth to acknowledge the central role that Black slaves played in casting off their shackles, it has become a vague and depoliticized celebration of Blackness. There is little acknowledgement of how racial slavery was succeeded by apartheid Jim Crow, the sharecropping economy and convict leasing system, or the contemporary carceral-state regime.

The liberal capture of Juneteenth's history is emblematic of the long arc of pacification and co-option which has undermined and weakened the potential for revolutionary Black struggle. A question of the utmost importance for strugglers today is: How can we resist the pacification of our revolt?

We find an exemplary refusal of pacification in Operation Al-Aqsa Flood — a "battle of the free," to quote a banner hung this spring from a bridge in Beirut. The brave, resisting Palestinians who participated in this battle rejected decades of normalization and the slow death — both

political and literal, especially in Gaza — of the intifada. For those in the West Bank, that slow death has been administered with the help of one of the colonial state's favorite weapons: a comprador class represented by the Palestinian Authority. The Hamas-led operation on October 7th shattered the occupiers' illusion of invincibility and fractured the normalization of quotidian colonial terror. They proved, as Black-Africans once did, that history does not propel itself. It must be taken by the scruff of the neck and dragged forward.

Palestine is one remaining example of traditional colonialism in its most brutal, direct and expansive configuration. It has been clear since the Oslo Accords and the so-called "peace process" that a suffocating counterinsurgency is the West's preferred tool for subjugating Palestinians. We find evidence for this preference in the attempts to scapegoat and exceptionalize Netanyahu, who has embraced nakedly eliminationist strategies of domination. These strategies are noxious to the liberal order because they reveal Israel's ugly underbelly, but they are not exceptional — genocide has always been the governing logic of Zionist colonialism.

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Operation Al-Aqsa Flood ruptured the decades-long effort to contain the Palestinian resistance, namely Hamas, within the concentration camp that is Gaza. It refused the slow, quotidian and unspectacular form of colonialism — a form that has cut short the lives of millions of ghettoized, racialized people throughout the world. This is a form of social existence that a significant number of people in the West (and particularly in the US) see as the natural order of things.

Even in this context, we observe attempts to pacify the radical potential of resistance. Think of the calls for a ceasefire from Bernie Sanders or Jamaal Bowman, which are always couched in language that naturalizes "Israel," claiming it has a right to exist, and never bolstered by vocal support for those trying to stop the genocide of their own people. Or, from Biden — a figurehead overseeing the transport of the death-dealing machinery to Israel — who blames Hamas for every failed ceasefire negotiation while trying to revive the corpse of the two-state solution. How do we refuse the attempts to normalize relations of domination? How can we problematize present and future efforts to pin the genocide on Netanyahu, in an effort to return to the quiet, quotidian terror Palestinians were subjected to prior to October 7th — with another civil servant at the helm?

George Jackson said that before revolution can take place, all forms of redress must be exhausted. In the case of Palestinians and of Black-Africans, everything short of revolution has been tried repeatedly: negotiations by the national ruling class on behalf of the colonized masses, appeals to the conscience of international courts, peaceful protest, reforms through "democratic" channels and so forth. All attempts at redress through civic-legal-formal means have failed, leading nowhere but back to quotidian violence, escalating carceralism and premature death.

The ghosts of slavery's past continue to haunt us, in the realms of political economy, modern policing and prisons and throughout the cultural and ideological spheres. Descendants of Black slaves remain surveilled, overpoliced, hyper-exploited and underemployed and overwhelmingly vulnerable to premature death. They have reaped few fruits from their foundational role in capitalist modernity, short of the one month per year — and now an extra day — to celebrate a whitewashed articulation of Black resistance to white terror.

After the independence and civil rights struggles in most Euro-American colonies, what was achieved — after the assassination and incarceration of the militant rebels who had resisted — was merely formal quasi-freedom. These former colonies were unequally absorbed into and forced to participate in a capitalist world-system whose terms of order institutionalized their subjection by the Western world. It is clear this is the preferred fate much of the liberal elite wishes to subject Palestinians to. How can we ensure they are not successful?

As the world turned its attention elsewhere and the Zionist entity crept closer to normalization with reactionary Arab regimes, it was the Palestinian resistance that turned all eyes to Gaza and breathed new life into the national liberation struggle, previously delegitimized by the "peace process."

This is not to say our struggles are direct analogs or that tactics in Palestine can or should be imitated in our context — simply that to struggle necessitates embracing our roles as world-historical actors and manufacturing a total break from containment.

What does it mean to recognize that Black slaves were ultimately responsible for their own freedom? The liberation of the earth's most wretched, downtrodden, dispossessed and alienated will only be actualized by the oppressed masses themselves. We study the attempts to be free while remaining aware of the inevitable counterinsurgent strategies that will follow. We remember that the most concrete contemporary expression of militant abolition was glimpsed in the ashes of Minneapolis's third precinct and followed by a most sophisticated regime of counterinsurgency.

The struggle is interminable. As Black-Africans absconded, took up arms, struck and ultimately brought about their own liberation, so too will Palestinians.

March in support of the Palestinian people
Sunday, May 18th at 1 p.m.
Fisher Highway
on Woodward
to Kennedy Square



"The rifles...and all the rifles pointed at the Zionist enemy."



The emblem of Fatah's armed brigade Al-'Asifah ("The Storm"). The bottom text reads "The Palestinian revolution in its fifth year."

A Message To Africa From Fatah at the Pan-African Cultural Festival, 1969

What happened in Palestine can easily be understood by the people of Africa. It is the same story in Africa and Palestine. It started by the immigration of White Europeans to Africa, where they settled, enslaved the people, established their own regime, evacuated the national owners of the land. Exercised all kinds of deprivation and exploitation.

Rhodes, Verwoerd and Ian Smith in Africa are the same as Herzl, Ben Gurion and Dayan in Palestine.

The same circumstances which created the white regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa created the State of Zionism in Palestine.

This is not a political manoeuvre

we perform but a cause we figure for. It is a call to all who want to live in a peace on the land of Palestine to fight with us hand in hand for the purpose of this cause.

We therefore look to all revolutionaries in Africa to stand with us, but the cause of freedom in Africa. As the cause of freedom is one and indivisible.

FATAH believes that the cause of freedom is one and the cause of Revolution is one all over the world. As we feel responsibility towards all revolutionaries and unreserved support to all those who carry arms fighting for the cause of liberty everywhere, specially in Africa which suffers in its

struggle for human existence on the homeland.

FATAH does not confine itself to political support in the form of sympathy but intends to take a leading role in the revolutionary movement where Fatah, as a militant pioneer in Palestine, would intercede with all militant pioneers in Africa who intend to fight for liberty anywhere in the world that suffers from oppression, privation, racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. This is not political propaganda. It is a pledge that FATAH clings to with full understanding to its responsibility towards the map of world Revolution.

Eldridge Cleaver Statement of Solidarity with the PLO, September 1970

The Black Panther Party (BPP) exemplifies the link between community-building for revolution and global solidarity. Their resistance to the imperialist targeting of Black people in America extended to their support of Palestinian liberation, resulting in a deep engagement with their struggle. This statement was written by then BPP Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver, in September, 1970 while he was living in Algeria after fleeing persecution by the FBI. It was published in response to the Jordanian army's brutal assault on fedayeen strongholds which forced the PLO to move its base of operations to Lebanon. The attack came to be known as Black September and was understood as nothing less than a betrayal of the Palestinian Revolution by the Hashemite monarchy. Cleaver minces no words about as he connects this treachery to the stranglehold of the same US imperialism the Panthers were fighting in cities across America.



The Cleavers with their young child in Algeria.

the struggle of the Palestinian people as part of the evil scheme of the US Imperialist aggressors for world domination and control of the people.

The Black Panther Party regards the confrontation in Jordan between the oppressors and the oppressed as a battlefield on which the aspirations of mankind to be free face a showdown with the US imperialist's plot.

The Black Panther Party unequivocally supports the Palestinian people and their vanguard forces in their struggle against the [Zionist] aggressors and the Hussein reactionaries who have combined with US imperialist aggressors to drown in blood

the glorious march of the Palestinian people to freedom, liberty, independence and peace.

We pledge our active solidarity and unequivocal support all the way to victory. We call upon all the revolutionary and progressive people of the world to make clear a line of demarcation between ourselves and the enemy. The struggle of the Palestinian people for their freedom and liberation from US imperialism and its lackeys is also our struggle. We recognize that if the Palestinian people cannot get their freedom and liberation, neither can we.

It is the duty of all progressive people, organizations and governments to rally all their forces in support of the Palestinian people and to take all possible steps with their power, and crush the diabolical plot against the Palestinian people and their vanguard forces.

The days of imperialists, lackeys, and reactionaries are numbered. We the people, firmly united and full of hatred for imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and fascism shall crush once and for all, all over the world, these monstrous criminal elements that stand between us and our freedom, liberation and happiness.

Long live the heroic Palestinian people!

Death to the US Imperialists and their lackeys of Tel Aviv and Amman!

